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ADDRESS OF J. STROM THURMOND, GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA, AND STATES' RIGHTS DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AT WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA, OCTOBER 9, 1948.

MY FELLOW AMERICANS:

At the close of a most enjoyable and inspiring visit with the good people of Virginia, I am happy to be privileged to be with you in Williamsburg. The restoration of this city along historical lines is one of the most notable cultural achievements in America. Here are preserved the very shrines of our democracy, and here one may find new inspiration for a rededication to the principles for which so many great Virginians have stood.

After almost a week in Virginia, I have no doubt in my mind that the people of this great Commonwealth will live up to the great heritage of democratic ideals which has come down to them from Thomas Jefferson and his fellow patriots. I have not the least doubt that Virginia will meet the challenge to the cause of representative government that confronts us today, just as Jefferson met it in 1787.

When men like Jefferson and Patrick Henry sought to lay the foundations for a government which could never be taken away from the people, they met strong opposition from those who desired the struggling young United States to follow the patterns of central control offered by Europe.

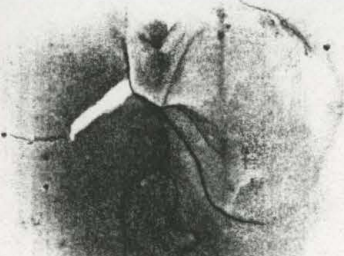


Today, we of the States' Rights Democrats are making the same kind of fight. We recognize that there are forces in this nation today which would build a strong centralized government that would ultimately destroy state lines, and take local self-government away from the people. We have seen those forces gain a temporary victory by the adoption, in the platforms of Truman, Dewey, and Wallace, of the most vicious assault upon Constitutional government in American history.

I stand on the soil of Virginia today, because
I believe the people of this great state love their Constitutional
rights, and that they are going to stand up for them in this election!

When the history of our time is written, I believe the historians will say that of the four candidates for President in 1948, three stood for strong central government - - or a totalitarian state - - and that only one stood for the kind of government that has made the United States the greatest nation on earth.

Your votes in this election will go a long way toward deciding whether those history books will record the rapid develop^{ment} of socialism or communism in this country, or whether they will record the continued progress of representative democracy as we know it.



It is a dumbfounding thing to realize that three candidates for the great office of President - - Truman, Dewey, and Wallace - - have publicly advocated a program which, if it is carried out, will take away our basic rights of self-government and centralize power in Washington.

Whether these three gentlemen are merely ignorant of the fundamentals upon which our democracy rests, or whether they are so greedy for office that they do not object to placing those fundamentals in jeopardy, I will not attempt to say. You may decide that for yourself.

But those of us who place love for country above the desire for political power were unwilling to let these three candidates go unchallenged. We were unwilling to sit idly at home while the American people were denied the right to express their opposition to a program that is openly in violation of the Constitution.

The States' Rights Democrats resist this shameful betrayal of American ideals, not only on the grounds that it would take away our Constitutional rights, but because it would change the very way in which we live.

Do not be misled by those who would have you believe that our campaign is a narrow, sectional matter of interest only to the Southern people.

is true that the most disastrous effect of the program we oppose would be felt in the South. That is why the most strenuous opposition comes from our states. But the basic violations of the principles of democracy represented in that program would take away rights in every state in the union. The thousands of supporters we have won in states like California, Illinois, New York and Colorado clearly indicate that the people know the issue.

Our opponents, who are so well skilled in the art of deception, have thrown the weight of their propaganda against us. They are spreading abroad the lie that we are opposed to human rights and the progress of some races.

Do not let your hearts be troubled by these lies. It has always been through this kind of deception that the totalitarian state has won its victories throughout the world. The programs of Hitler, of Stalin, and of all tyrants have always been disguised with false claims. Men of good will who have nothing but love in their hearts for humanity are often deceived by clever doctrines that make use of the catch-phrases of human welfare.

The so-called "Civil Rights" program of Truman, Dewey, and Wallace is full of the same kind of deception that prostrated Europe, and that is spreading out of Russia today into every corner of the earth.

These three candidates - - either out of ignorance or malicious intent - - have become the political agents of a kind of doctrine that would be fatal to the American system of government.

All good Americans favor human rights. But thoughtful Americans know that our Constitution is the only real guarantee of human rights. Without its fundamentals of local self-government and home rule, human rights will be subject to the destructive assault of the dictators.

All races may live together in harmony and may hope to reach that ultimate goal of happiness and prosperity envisioned in the Declaration of Independence and in the Constitution, if those races retain the protection afforded by the Constitution. If they lose it, no race can prosper or achieve happiness.

Recent history has taught us that when a dictator wins control, racial minorities inevitably become his victims. Thus our own racial minorities are sponsoring a political program which will result in a form of government from which they will be the first to suffer.

The States' Rights Democrats do not claim that

the enactment of the misnamed Civil Rights proposals of Truman, Dewey, and Wallace would automatically convert America into a police state. But we do maintain that they would open the doors of government so wide that there would be no protection left against the inroads of communism and the encroachment of the total state.

We maintain, in addition, that the Civil Rights proposals would make radical changes in the American way of life, which can only lead to violence, lawlessness, and widespread racial discord. We maintain that such a program would be a stunning blow to a Southland which has now virtually attained its goal of economic equality with the rest of the nation.

I defy those who advocate such a program. I am dedicated to the belief that the American people will never stand for it!

The enactment of the so-called Civil Rights measures would establish a clear precedent for the Congress to take over control of elections and of voting qualifications in the states through the Anti-Poll Tax Bill.

They would establish a precedent for the Congress to usurp functions of state legislatures and state courts through the Anti-Lynching Bill.

They would establish a precedent for the Congress to interfere with state and local laws dealing with the relationship between the races, in the Anti-Segregation proposals.

They would set a precedent which would enable Congress to regulate private businesses and private employment within the states through the FEPC Bill.

And they would create a national police force, thereby invading the functions of state, county, and local police officers and sheriffs, through the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice.

When you realize that the imposition of the cloture rule may at any time prevent the Southern members of Congress from forestalling the enactment of these measures, which are promised by Truman, Dewey, and Wallace, you realize how important it is that the American people express their opposition to them in this election.

My friends, the entire world has recently been alarmed over the revelations of the extent to which Communist spies have infiltrated our government. We have been alarmed, too, at the failure of the present administration to cooperate with the Congress in investigating that infiltration.

And yet Mr. Truman, Mr. Dewey, and Mr. Wallace have all three endorsed the FEPC bill -- a piece of legislation which is the first plank in the Communist platform. The American version of this law faithfully follows the pattern set down by Stalin himself back in 1920.

Under the proposed FEPC, the commission would have the power to set up its own rules and regulations as to what an employer may or may not do in hiring, firing, promoting and demoting his employees. Let us see what these rules and regulations might be, by taking a close look at the rules of the New York FEPC set up by Governor Dewey.

Under the New York law it is unlawful for an employer to ask an applicant what his former name was if he had changed it.

It is unlawful to ask an applicant where he was born, or where his parents were born.

It is unlawful to ask him to show his birth certificate.

It is unlawful to ask him what his religion is, or even whether he is an atheist.

It is unlawful to ask him whether he will follow

the rules of the employer in observing only certain holidays -- such as the 4th of July or Christmas.

It is unlawful to ask him what his complexion is, or even to ask him to produce a photograph, if he should apply in writing.

It is unlawful to ask him whether he is a naturalized or native-born citizen, or to make him show his naturalization papers.

It is unlawful to ask where his family lives, or where they came from.

And here is one requirement of the New York law that I wish every veteran in America could read. It is unlawful to ask an applicant for employment what his military experience is, or where he was during World War I. He might have been a draft-dodger, or he might have been shooting at our boys overseas, but you're not allowed to ask him about that.

It is perfectly plain that this proposal originated with forces seeking to undermine the government of the United States. It is perfectly plain that the Communists would use this law to force their agents into our industrial plants and our secret atomic laboratories, where they would be ready to strike when Stalin passes the word.

But, ladies and gentlemen, the States' Rights

Democrats are making it equally plain, that we will resist
this foreign doctrine, and that it will never be forced upon
a free America!

It is not likely that any one of the three candidates who advocate this program will ever openly announce that he is in favor of a police state in America. Yet it is quite clear that not one of these candidates possesses the statesmanship to recognize a violation of basic American Constitutional guarantees, and to resist it. It is quite clear that all three of these gentlemen are capable of bypassing the Constitution to make a cheap appeal to a powerful minority bloc.

In these dangerous times, let us recall the language of the resolution by which the Convention of Virginia ratified the Constitution in 1787. This resolution declared that Virginia assented to the Constitution only on condition that, "Every power not granted remains with the people, and at their will; that therefore no right of any denomination can be cancelled, abridged, restrained, or modified by the Congress, the Senate or the House of Representatives acting in any capacity; by the President, or any department or officer of the United States, except in instances in which

power is given for this purpose."

The guarantee of states' rights in the Constitution, therefore, was by no means an accident. Virginia fought for it, other states fought for it, against stern opposition. I cannot believe that we are any less determined today to protect ourselves against a central government, far removed from the people and too remote for the people to control.

We cannot accept the socialistic claptrap of Henry Wallace. We cannot countenance the use of petty people to front for Pendergast-type big-city machines, such as the Harry Truman administration has brought. And we cannot accept the Big-Government, special-interest, high-tariff leadership of someone like Tom Dewey, who once flatly stated that he thought the South should be subjected to unfair freight rates to protect Northern industry.

We are told that Henry Wallace is a shining saviour of mankind. We are made to believe that Harry Truman is a "Regular guy", or a "good fellow", as he himself once said of Joe Stalin. And we are being sold on the idea that Tom Dewey is a brilliant glamour-boy executive type, whatever that is.

But we have yet to be shown, that either one of these three has any conception of the genuine fundamentals of American representative government!

The course of thoughtful, loyal Americans in this election is clear. The States' Rights Democrats offer the only chance by which you may cast a vote against the prostration of our ideals before the demands of selfish minorities. The States' Rights Democrats offer the only method by which you may voice your opposition to an un-American and unconstitutional program designed as a means of purchasing those minority votes. The States' Rights Democrats offer you your only means of expressing your faith in America as it is, rather than as the Communists want it to be.

We stand on principles. We stand on the faith that the exercise of the right of free suffrage is the best way of protecting and preserving our way of life.

So many loyal Americans have joined us that we firmly believe we shall make a powerful stand in the Electoral College. If we can prevent any candidate from getting a majority of the votes, we shall give the smaller states of this nation a chance to exercise their Constitutional privilege of electing a President of their choice in the House of Representatives.

In the House of Representatives, the bellow of the big-city machines will be a whisper. The influence of the Reds and the subversives will be nearly nothing. Each state will have one vote, and upon those votes we are willing to rest our case.

But the States' Rights Democrats did not come into being in an effort to seize power. On the contrary, we are determined to make it certain that the power of government shall remain with the people. We are determined that the evils of our political system shall be cast out, and the voice of representative government restored.

We are certain, by all the assurances of which mankind is capable under a God of all wisdom, that we shall, by our efforts, restore the great Southland to a position of respect and of just and equal influence in the political life of the nation.

And we know beyond any reasonable doubt that we shall repudiate forever the false leaders who have kidnapped the Democratic Party and led it astray from its historic functions of devotion to the rights of states and to local self-government. We shall return that Party^{to} its real bosses, the people of these United States.

In that faith, with that determination, and for that high purpose, we ask you to join with us, for the sake of the land we love.